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THE CHAMORRO LANGUAGE OF GUAM — III

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VII. — NUMERATION

I. ETYMOLOGY OF NUMERALS. — In the following table the first ten numerals of Chamorro are compared with languages of the Malay archipelago, the Philippines, the Island of Formosa, Melanesia, Polynesia, Madagascar, and Micronesia:

| | ONE | TWO | THREE | FOUR | FIVE |
|-------------------------------|-----------------|-----------------|-------------------|-----------------|----------------|
| Primitive roots. ¹ | <i>sa, ta</i> | <i>rua, dua</i> | <i>tol, tel</i> | <i>fat, pat</i> | <i>lima</i> |
| Chamorro, Guam. | <i>hacha</i> | <i>hu-gua</i> | <i>tulu, tulo</i> | <i>fatfat</i> | <i>lima</i> |
| Pampango, Philippines. | <i>isa</i> | <i>a-dua</i> | <i>a-tlo</i> | <i>a-pat</i> | <i>lima</i> |
| Tagalog, “ | <i>isá</i> | <i>dalaúá</i> | <i>tatló</i> | <i>apát</i> | <i>limá</i> |
| Modern Malayan. | <i>satú</i> | <i>duá</i> | <i>tiga</i> | <i>ampat</i> | <i>lima</i> |
| Tsu, Formosa. | <i>chuni</i> | <i>lusa</i> | <i>tulu</i> | <i>supat</i> | <i>lima</i> |
| Tsuihoan, Formosa. | <i>taha</i> | <i>tusha</i> | <i>turu</i> | <i>spat</i> | <i>hrima</i> |
| Sekhoan, “ | <i>adadumat</i> | <i>dusa</i> | <i>turu</i> | <i>supat</i> | <i>hasub</i> |
| Tayal, “ | <i>kolock</i> | <i>sajin</i> | <i>shugal</i> | <i>paíat</i> | <i>magal</i> |
| Ulawá, Solomon Ids. | <i>e ta</i> | <i>e rua</i> | <i>e 'olu</i> | <i>e hai</i> | <i>e lima</i> |
| Fiji. | <i>e dua</i> | <i>e rua</i> | <i>e tolu</i> | <i>e va</i> | <i>e lima</i> |
| Samoa. | <i>e tasi</i> | <i>e lua</i> | <i>e tolu</i> | <i>e fa</i> | <i>e lima</i> |
| Hawaii. | <i>a kahi</i> | <i>a lua</i> | <i>a kolu</i> | <i>a ha</i> | <i>a lima</i> |
| Easter Id. | <i>ka tahi</i> | <i>ka rua</i> | <i>ka toru</i> | <i>ka ha</i> | <i>ka rima</i> |
| Maori, New Zealand. | <i>tahi</i> | <i>e rua</i> | <i>e toru</i> | <i>e wha</i> | <i>e rima</i> |
| Madagascar. | <i>isa</i> | <i>roa</i> | <i>telo</i> | <i>efatra</i> | <i>dimy</i> |
| Yap, Caroline Ids. | <i>rep, leb</i> | <i>ru</i> | <i>thaleb</i> | <i>eninger</i> | <i>lahl</i> |
| Radack, Marshall Ids. | <i>duon</i> | <i>ruo</i> | <i>dillu</i> | <i>emmen</i> | <i>lallim</i> |

In the above examples, with the exception of the Tayal, which is spoken by the aborigines inhabiting the mountain districts of northern Formosa, and the languages of Yap and Radack, which are classed as Micronesian, a wonderful correspondence will be seen. Practically the same system of numeration is used by natives of islands distributed from the north temperate to the south temperate zone of the Pacific ocean, and from Madagascar, off the east coast of Africa, to Easter island, which is situated in 109° 30' west longitude, almost on the meridian which separates Colorado and Utah.

¹ The primitive roots are selected from the languages of the primitive inhabitants of the Malay archipelago. See Wallace, *The Malay Archipelago*, New York, 1869, pp. 624-5.

The Chamorro, like the greater number of these languages, has a purely decimal system ; in the neighboring Micronesian islands and in several of the languages spoken in Formosa this is not the case. Thus, in Yap *seven* is designated by 'six-and-one,' *eight* by 'six-and-two,' *nine* by 'six-and-three'; in Radack, of the Marshall group, *six* is expressed by 'three-three,' *seven* by 'three-three-and-one'; *eight* by 'double-four,' *nine* by 'double-four-and-one'; in Formosa the Tsu language, spoken by the inhabitants of the

| | SIX | SEVEN | EIGHT | NINE | TEN |
|---------------------|-------------------|----------------------|-------------------|---------------------|--------------------|
| Primitive roots. | <i>un, an, on</i> | <i>fitu, pitu</i> | <i>walu</i> | <i>siwa, sio</i> | <i>pulu, hutu</i> |
| Chamorro, Guam. | <i>gunum</i> | <i>fiti</i> | <i>gualu</i> | <i>sigua</i> | <i>manot</i> |
| Pampango, P. I. | <i>anam</i> | <i>pitu</i> | <i>valo</i> | <i>siam</i> | <i>a-pulo</i> |
| Tagalog, P. I. | <i>anim</i> | <i>pitó</i> | <i>ualó</i> | <i>siyám</i> | <i>sang-pouó</i> |
| Modern Malayan. | <i>anam</i> | <i>tujoh</i> | <i>delápan</i> | <i>sembilan</i> | <i>sa-pulo</i> |
| Tsu, Formosa. | <i>nomi</i> | <i>pitu</i> | <i>mevaru</i> | <i>sio</i> | <i>massiki</i> |
| Tsuihoan, Formosa. | <i>sturu</i> | <i>pitu</i> | <i>kaspát</i> | <i>tamaro</i> | <i>maksin</i> |
| Sekhoan, " | <i>hasubudá</i> | <i>hasubidusa</i> | <i>hasubituru</i> | <i>hasubisupát</i> | <i>issit</i> |
| Tayal, " | <i>taío</i> | <i>pitu</i> | <i>s'pattle</i> | <i>taí-so</i> | <i>mu-po, pong</i> |
| Ulawá, Solomon I. | <i>e ono</i> | <i>e hi'u</i> | <i>e walú</i> | <i>e siwa</i> | <i>ta-nga-hulu</i> |
| Fiji. | <i>e ono</i> | <i>e vitu</i> | <i>e walú</i> | <i>e thiwa</i> | <i>e tini</i> |
| Samoa. | <i>e ono</i> | <i>e fitu</i> | <i>e valu</i> | <i>e iwa</i> | <i>e se-fulu</i> |
| Hawaii. | <i>a ono</i> | <i>a hiku</i> | <i>a walú</i> | <i>a iwa</i> | <i>umi</i> |
| Easter Id. | <i>ka ono</i> | <i>ka hitu</i> | <i>ka varu</i> | <i>ka iwa</i> | <i>a-nga-huru</i> |
| Maori, New Zeal'd. | <i>e ono</i> | <i>e whitu</i> | <i>e waru</i> | <i>e iwa</i> | <i>tekau</i> |
| Madagascar. | <i>enina</i> | <i>fito</i> | <i>valo</i> | <i>sivy</i> | <i>folo</i> |
| Yap, Caroline I. | <i>nel</i> | <i>me-de-líp</i> | <i>me-rug</i> | <i>me-reb</i> | <i>ragath</i> |
| Radack, Marshall I. | <i>dildinu</i> | <i>dildimem-duon</i> | <i>eidinu</i> | <i>eidinem-duon</i> | <i>chabujet</i> |

mountains southwest of Nitakayama, has a decimal system of numerals in nearly all of which the primitive Malayan roots can be recognized ; in the Tsuihoan language, spoken in the vicinity of Lake Candidius (Sui-shako), *six* is expressed by 'double-three' and *eight* by 'double-four'; in the Sekhoan language, spoken by the "tame savages" living on the mountain spurs east of Shoka (Chang-wha), *six* is expressed by 'five-and-one,' *seven* by 'five-and-two,' etc.; and in the Tayal, or Atayal, scarcely any of the primitive Malayan roots can be recognized except *pitu* (seven), and perhaps *paíat* (four) and *s'pattle* (double-four, or eight).

The languages of Formosa are here mentioned to show how the systems of numeration serve to distinguish the aboriginal tribes from the more recent Malayan intruders.

The Chamorro numeral system is no longer used in Guam, but a few of the numerals are retained in derived words; thus, from *hugua*, two, we have *huguayon*, two-handed (ambidextrous); from *maisa*, one (used in counting persons), we have *mamaisa*, to be alone, a single one.

2. CARDINAL NUMBERS. — The forms of the cardinal numbers in Chamorro differ according to the nature of the objects counted. Days, months, and years are counted by the simple numerals; measurements are expressed by numerals with the prefix *tak* or *tag*; in counting living things there is a certain tendency to reduplication; in counting inanimate objects there is a suffix appended to the numerals. Examples:

| 1. SIMPLE NUMERALS FOR TIME IN ANSWER TO <i>fia</i> ? | 2. NUMERALS FOR LIVING THINGS IN ANSWER TO <i>fafia</i> ? | 3. NUMERALS FOR MEASUREMENTS IN ANSWER TO <i>takfia</i> ? | 4. NUMERALS FOR INANIMATE THINGS IN ANSWER TO <i>fiyai</i> ? |
|---|---|---|--|
| 1. <i>hacha</i> | <i>maisa</i> | <i>takhachun</i> | <i>hachiyai</i> |
| 2. <i>hugua</i> | <i>hugua</i> | <i>takhuguan</i> | <i>huguiyai</i> |
| 3. <i>tulo, tulu</i> | <i>tato</i> | <i>taktulun</i> | <i>tolgiyai</i> |
| 4. <i>fatfat</i> | <i>fatfat</i> | <i>takfatun</i> | <i>farfatai</i> |
| 5. <i>lima</i> | <i>lalima</i> | <i>takliman</i> | <i>limiyai</i> |
| 6. <i>gunum</i> | <i>guagunum</i> | <i>taggunum</i> | <i>gonmiyai</i> |
| 7. <i>fiti</i> | <i>fafiti</i> | <i>takfitun</i> | <i>fetguiyai</i> |
| 8. <i>gualu</i> | <i>guagualu</i> | <i>taggualun</i> | <i>gualgiyai</i> |
| 9. <i>sigua</i> | <i>sasigua</i> | <i>taksiguan</i> | <i>siguiyai</i> |
| 10. <i>manot</i> | <i>maðnot</i> | <i>takmaonton</i> | <i>manutai</i> |
| 20. <i>hugua nga fulu</i> | <i>hugua nga fulu</i> | <i>takhugua nga fulu</i> | <i>huguiyai nga fulu</i> |
| 30. <i>tulu nga fulu</i> | <i>tato nga fulu</i> | <i>taktulu nga fulu</i> | <i>tolgiyai nga fulu</i> |
| 40. <i>fatfat nga fulu</i> | <i>fatfat nga fulu</i> | <i>takfatu nga fulu</i> | <i>farfatai nga fulu</i> |
| 100. <i>gatus</i> | <i>gatus</i> | <i>manapo</i> | <i>gatus</i> |
| 1,000. <i>chalan</i> | <i>chalan</i> | <i>takchalan</i> | <i>chalan</i> |

The method of prefixing syllables or particles to the numerals is common to nearly all the languages in which this system is used. Thus we have in Hawaii, for one, *akahi* or *ekahi*; for two, *alua* or *elua*, etc.; in Samoa, *e tasi*, *e lua*, *e tolu*, etc.; in Easter island, *ka tahi*, *ka rua*, *ka toru*.

Numerals prefixed to spans, indicating measure of length, have the prefix *tak* and are followed by the unit *hinfantifi*:

One span, *takhachun nga hinfantifi* (a quarter of a yard).

Two spans, *takhuguan nga hinfantifi* (half a yard).

Numerals indicating finger-breadths are of the form used for inanimate objects and are preceded by the unit *hemlum*:

One finger-breadth, *hemlum hachiyai*.

Two finger-breadths, *hemlum huguiyai*.

3. COMPOSITE NUMBERS. — The word for *eleven* signifies, in all probability, 'a set which has one'; *twelve*, 'a set which has two'; *twenty-one*, 'two tens which have one'; *twenty-five*, 'two tens which have five'; and so forth. The differences between the forms of numbers applied to animate and inanimate objects and to units of time and measurement are retained in the composite numbers. Examples:

| NUMBERS USED IN COUNTING TIME | NUMBERS USED IN COUNTING INANIMATE THINGS |
|--|---|
| 11. <i>manot nga guai hacha</i> ; | <i>manutai nga guai hachiyai</i> ; |
| 12. <i>manot nga guai hugua</i> ; | <i>manutai nga guai huguiyai</i> ; |
| 13. <i>manot nga guai tulo</i> ; | <i>manutai nga guai tolgiyai</i> ; |
| 20. <i>hugua nga fulu</i> ; | <i>huguiyai nga fulu</i> ; |
| 21. <i>hugua nga fulu nga guai hacha</i> ; | <i>huguiyai nga fulu nga guai hachiyai</i> ; |
| 25. <i>hugua nga fulu nga guai lima</i> ; | <i>huguiyai nga fulu nga guai limiyai</i> ; |
| 33. <i>tulo nga fulu nga guai tulo</i> ; | <i>tolgiyai nga fulu nga guai tolgiyai</i> ; |
| 301. <i>tulo nga gatus nga guai hacha</i> ; | <i>tolgiyai nga gatus nga guai hachiyai</i> . |
| 352. <i>tulo nga gatus nga guai lima nga fulu nga guai hugua</i> . | |

NUMBERS USED IN COUNTING FATHOMS

- 11. *takmaonton nga guai takhachun*;
- 22. *hugua nga fulu nga guai takhuguan*;
- 110. *gatus nga guai takmaonton*.

NUMBERS USED IN COUNTING LIVING THINGS

- 11. *maonot nga guai maisa*.
- 13. *maonot nga guai tato*.
- 33. *tato nga fulu nga guai tato*.
- 305. *tato nga gatus nga guai lalima*.

4. THE CONNECTIVE PARTICLE OR "LIGATURE" *nga* OR *na*. — It has already been shown that attributive adjectives are connected with their substantives by a connective particle *na*. This was originally *nga* and corresponded to similar particles in the Philippine dialects and in some of the islands of the Malay archipelago, which have been called by Spanish grammarians "ligatures," or "liga-

tions," since they bind the adjective to the noun they qualify. It has also been shown that many words are used as nouns, adjectives, or verbs, according to the meaning to be expressed. When these words are used as qualifying adjectives they must be connected with their substantives by this ligature; thus we have *patgon na lahe*, 'young male,' or *lahe na patgon*, 'male child.' All numeral adjectives are connected with their substantives by this particle; and it appears in certain derived numbers; as *hugua nga fulu*, 'twenty'; *tulu nga fulu*, 'thirty'; *hugua nga gatus*, 'two hundred.' It is an interesting fact that when languages like the Polynesian and Melanesian, in which these connective particles do not normally occur, have adopted this system of numeration, the derived numerals usually retain the particle, though its nature is not understood. Thus, in Samoa, though we have no particle in *sefulu*, ten, and *luafulu*, twenty, the connective particle has held its own in *tolu-nga-fulu* (thirty), *fā-nga-fulu* (forty), *tolu-nga-lau* (three hundred), etc. In Fiji, though *tini* (signifying 'limit,' or 'goal') is used for ten, yet in forming multiples of ten we have *rua sa-nga-vulu*, (twenty), *tulu sa-nga-vulu* (thirty), *sa-nga-vulu* having signified in the original language whence it came 'one ten,' an expression customary in modern Malayan, Tagalog, and many other dialects. This form is well shown in the language of Ulawa of the Solomon group, where *ta* signifies 'one' and *ta-nga-hulu* 'ten,' or 'one ten.' In the Samoan *sefula*, *se* is the indefinite article. The survival of the particle **nga** throws valuable light on the origin of this system of numeration, showing conclusively that it is neither Melanesian nor Polynesian, but that it was borrowed from a language in which attributive adjectives were connected to their substantives by ligatures. Such languages are spoken in Guam, the Philippines, and in many of the islands of the Malay archipelago. With these languages as a basis for comparison, the interpolated syllables in the Polynesian and Melanesian dialects at once become intelligible and need not be accounted for, as having been used for the sake of euphony;¹ and the *sangavulu* of the Fijians, who do not express 'one' by *sa*, need not be interpreted as possibly meaning 'a double set of

¹ See Pratt, George E., *A Grammar and Dictionary of the Samoan Language*, 3d ed., London, 1893, p. 167.

fingers.’¹ The use of the ligature is demanded by the genius of the Chamorro language, so that it is usually expressed with the Spanish numerals. Thus we now say *uno na manog*, ‘one fowl’; *dies na uhañg*, ‘ten shrimps.’

In the composite numbers the second *nga* (or, as it is sometimes written, *na*) is the indefinite or descriptive relative particle. (See § 8, c, under *The Pronoun*.)

5. MANOT.—The word for ‘ten’ is *manot*, which may be considered as expressing ‘a set.’ When more than one ten is expressed, *fulu* is used. In Hawaii *mano* indicates 4,000, and is used alone or reduplicated to signify multitudinous. In Samoa *mano* signifies 10,000, or a myriad, the limit of Samoan counting.² In the Chamorro this is expressed by *manutu*.

6. FULU.—The origin of *fulu* is not known. As has been shown in the table, its use to express the number 10 is common to the Polynesian, the Malayan, the Melanesian, and the language of Madagascar. Fornander identifies it with the Polynesian word for ‘feathers, hair, wool,’³ which is *pulu*, *fulu*, *hulu*, or *huru*; but I think that this is a mistake. In Guam we have both *pulu*, meaning ‘hair’ or ‘feather,’ and *fulu* meaning ‘ten’ for all numbers between twenty and ninety.

7. GATUS.—This word is also used for ‘hundred’ in the Bisayan and other Philippine dialects. In the Ilocana it is *gasut*, in Malayan *ratus*, and in the Malagasy *zàto*. It is possible that the Samoan *atu*, signifying a ‘row, line, chain, or series,’ as houses, mountains, islands, may have the same origin.

8. CHALAN.—This word, used in the Chamorro to express ‘thousand,’ becomes *dalan* in the Pampango and *dáan* in the Tagalog of the Philippines, and is in those dialects used to express ‘hundred.’ In the Tagalog the word for ‘thousand’ is *libo*; this becomes *ribu* in Malayan, *arivo* in the Malagasy, and in Hawaiian

¹ “It is possible to explain *sagavulu* in Fiji, *sanavul*, *hanavulu*, or whatever form the word may take in Melanesia. The word *vulu* may be shown to mean probably a set of fingers, and *saga* (*sanga*) double; if this be so, *sangavulu* corresponds to the Nengone *rewē tubenine*, two sets of fingers.” — Codrington, R. H., *The Melanesian Languages*, Oxford, 1885, p. 247.

² Pratt, op. cit., pp. 9, 208.

³ Fornander, A., *An Account of the Polynesian Race*, 2nd ed., Lond., 1890, I, 156.

lehu, signifying in the last case 400,000, the highest number known to the Hawaiians.

9. METHODS OF COUNTING. — We have already seen (under *Interrogative Adjectives*, § 5) that in asking questions as to number or quantity the interrogative must correspond to the form of the numeral to be used in the answer. This may be regarded in the same light as the English expressions 'How many head of cattle?' 'How many fathoms of rope?' 'How many dozen of eggs?'

In Chamorro, days, months, and years are counted by the simple cardinal numbers, as—

hacha nga puenge, one day (literally 'one night') ;

hugua nga pulan, two moons, two months ;

tulo nga sakan, three harvests, three years.

The simple cardinals are used to express past time. In expressing future time, in answer to such a question as 'When will he come?' the ancient Chamorros would say :

agupa, tomorrow ;

i gunma, in six days ;

i hacha, day after tomorrow ;

i fitgua, in seven days ;

i telgua, in three days from now ;

i gualgua, in eight days ;

i fata, in four days ;

i siguiya, in nine days ;

i limiya, in five days ;

i manot, in ten days.

Fishermen count from three on with the numerals used for living things : *Fafia nga guihan sinipegmo?* How many fish have you caught ?

hatitip, one ;

fatfat, four ;

atsgan, a pair ;

lalima, five ;

tato, three ;

guagunum, six.

Fish are also counted in pairs :

atsgan, one pair ;

huguan maisa, a pair and a half ;

hugua nga atsgan, two pairs ; *tulum maisa*, two pairs and a half ;

tulo nga atsgan, three pairs ; *i usan*, ten pairs ;

hugua nga i usan, twenty pairs ;

i usan nga guai hatitip, ten pairs and a half ;

gatus nga i usan nga guai hatitip, a hundred pairs and a half.

In asking the length of a boat, the ancient Chamorros would say :

Takfian yini nga sagman? How long is this canoe?

Takhachun, takhuguan, etc. One fathom long, two fathoms long, etc.

10. ORDINAL NUMBERS. — The Chamorro ordinals are as follow :

- | | |
|---|-------------------------------------|
| <i>i fina mona</i> , imena, the first ; | <i>i fina haunum</i> , the sixth ; |
| <i>i fina hagua</i> , the second ; | <i>i fina hauti</i> , the seventh ; |
| <i>i fina hatu</i> , the third ; | <i>i fina haulu</i> , the eight ; |
| <i>i fina hafat</i> , the fourth ; | <i>i fina hasgua</i> , the ninth ; |
| <i>i fina halma</i> , the fifth ; | <i>i fina hanut</i> , the tenth. |
- i fina hanut nga guai maisa* (in counting living things), the eleventh ;
i fina hanut nga guai hacha (in counting time), the eleventh ;
i fina hanut nga guai hachiyai (in counting things), the eleventh.

Mona, or *fona*, signifies foremost, or front : from it we have *gi mena*, in front of, or opposite to ; *finénana*, the first ; *finénana na patgon*, first-born child.

In the same way we have *talo*, middle, mid ; *tate*, last or rear ; from which we have *kálolot talo*, middle finger ; *taloane*, noon, mid-day ; *tátalopueñge*, midnight ; *tátate*, hindmost, posterior.

11. DISTRIBUTIVE NUMBERS. — The particle *um* is inserted before the first vowel of the numeral, reduplicating at times the first or second syllable ; for example —

- | | |
|------------------------|--|
| <i>hatitip</i> , one ; | <i>umatitip</i> , one by one, or one at a time ; |
| <i>hugua</i> , two ; | <i>humugua</i> , two by two, or two at a time ; |
| <i>maisa</i> , one ; | <i>mumaisa</i> , one by one, or one at a time ; |
| <i>hugiyai</i> , two ; | <i>humugiyai</i> , two by two, or two at a time. |

The following are examples :

| WITH HACHA | WITH MAISA | WITH HACHIJAI | |
|--------------------|------------------|--------------------|----------------|
| 1. <i>humachu</i> | <i>mumaisa</i> | <i>humachiyai</i> | one by one |
| 2. <i>humugua</i> | <i>humalgua</i> | <i>humugiyai</i> | two by two |
| 3. <i>tumulo</i> | <i>tumato</i> | <i>tumelgiyai</i> | three by three |
| 4. <i>fumatfat</i> | <i>fumafat</i> | <i>fumatfatai</i> | four by four |
| 5. <i>lumima</i> | <i>lumalima</i> | <i>lumimiyai</i> | five by five |
| 6. <i>gumunum</i> | <i>gumagunum</i> | <i>gumonmiyai</i> | six by six |
| 7. <i>fumiti</i> | <i>fumafiti</i> | <i>fumitgiyai</i> | seven by seven |
| 8. <i>gumalo</i> | <i>gumagualo</i> | <i>gumalguiyai</i> | eight by eight |
| 9. <i>sumigua</i> | <i>sumasigua</i> | <i>sumigiyai</i> | nine by nine |
| 10. <i>mumanot</i> | <i>mumaonot</i> | <i>mumanutai</i> | ten by ten |

12. NUMERAL ADVERBS. — These are formed in most cases by prefixing the particle *faha* and abbreviating the primitive numeral :

HOW MANY TIMES?

FAHAFĀ?

| | |
|--|--------------------------------|
| <i>lacha</i> , once ; | <i>fahaunum</i> , six times ; |
| <i>fahagua</i> , twice ; | <i>fahauti</i> , seven times ; |
| <i>fafatu</i> , three times ; | <i>fahaulu</i> , eight times ; |
| <i>fahafat</i> , four times ; | <i>fahasgua</i> , nine times ; |
| <i>fahalna</i> , five times ; | <i>fahanot</i> , ten times ; |
| <i>fahanot nga guai lacha</i> , eleven times ; | |
| <i>fahanot nga guai fahagua</i> , twelve times ; | |
| <i>hugua nga fulu nga guai lacha</i> , twenty-one times ; | |
| <i>tulu nga fulu nga guai fahagua</i> , thirty-two times ; | |

13. THE CHAMORRO CALENDAR.—The year was divided into thirteen moons, and the time was reckoned from harvest to harvest. The name for year, *sakan*, signifies 'harvest.' As in Samoa some months were named from a certain marine annelid, which appears each year at the same time,¹ so in Guam two of the months were named for fishing seasons: *Umatalaf*, corresponding to the month of March, and signifying 'to go to catch guatafi,' a kind of fish; and *Umagahaf*, the moon between December and January, signifying 'to go crayfishing.' *Mananaf*, or *Fananaf*, corresponding to June, is supposed to signify 'crawling time,' or 'to go on all fours'; but it is not understood how this name should apply to it. *Tenhos*, the month of August, signifying 'angry,' or 'out of patience,' is well named, as the weather then is unsettled, and the steady trade-wind of the good season ceases and is replaced by variable winds from the south and southwest. The September moon is appropriately called *Lamlam*, or *Lumamlam*, signifying 'lightning.' The October moon was named *Fagualu*, or *Fagualo*, 'planting time,' for it was then that the Chamorros planted their rice. The November moon was called *Sumongsung*, meaning 'to put in the stopper,' an expression probably meaning that the hard rains had ceased. Following is a list of the Chamorro names of the moons:

- | | |
|----------------------------------|------------------------------|
| 1. <i>Tumeiguini</i> , January ; | 3. <i>Umatalaf</i> , March ; |
| 2. <i>Maimo</i> , February ; | 4. <i>Lumuhu</i> , April ; |

¹ This little animal, *Palola viridis*, appears in the openings of the coral reefs for only a few hours on the morning after the third quartering of the October and of the November moons, swarming in great numbers on the surface, where it is scooped up by the natives, who know just when to expect it. It resembles vermicelli in appearance, and is much relished by the Samoans. The first two months of the palolo half-year are named *Palolomua*, or 'First of Palolo,' and *Palolomuli*, or 'After Palolo.'

5. *Magmamao*, May ; 9. *Lumamlam*, *Lamlam*, September ;
 6. *Mananaf*, *Fananaf*, June ; 10. *Fagualu*, *Fagualo*, October ;
 7. *Semo*, July ; 11. *Sumongsung*, November ;
 8. *Tenhos*, August ; 12. *Umayānggan*, December ;
 13. *Umagáhaf*, *Omagáhaf*.

14. MODERN NUMERALS.—These have been derived from the Spanish. The primitive words in some cases have been modified, the *z* of *diez* changing to *s*, the *e* of *seis* to *a*, and *v* to *b*, in accordance with Chamorro pronunciation.

Cardinal Numbers

| | SPANISH | CHAMORRO | ENGLISH |
|------------|---------------|-----------------------------|------------|
| 1, | un, uno, una, | <i>un, uno,</i> | one. |
| 2, | dos, | <i>dos,</i> | two. |
| 3, | tres, | <i>tres,</i> | three. |
| 4, | cuatro, | <i>kuatro,</i> ¹ | four. |
| 5, | cinco, | <i>sinko,</i> | five. |
| 6, | seis, | <i>sais,</i> | six. |
| 7, | siete, | <i>siete,</i> | seven. |
| 8, | ocho, | <i>ocho,</i> | eight. |
| 9, | nueve | <i>nuebe,</i> | nine. |
| 10, | diez, | <i>dies,</i> | ten. |
| 11, | once, | <i>onse,</i> | eleven. |
| 12, | doce, | <i>dose,</i> | twelve. |
| 13, | trece, | <i>trese,</i> | thirteen. |
| 14, | catorce, | <i>katorse,</i> | fourteen. |
| 15, | quince, | <i>kinse,</i> | fifteen. |
| 16, | diez y seis, | <i>diesisais,</i> | sixteen. |
| 17, | diez y siete, | <i>diesisiete,</i> | seventeen. |
| 20, | veinte, | <i>bente,</i> | twenty. |
| 30, | treinta, | <i>trenta,</i> | thirty. |
| 100, | ciento, | <i>siento,</i> | hundred. |
| 1,000, | mil, | <i>mil,</i> | thousand. |
| 1,000,000, | millon, | <i>miyon,</i> | million. |

Modern Ordinals

| PRIMITIVE WORD | CHAMORRO | ENGLISH |
|-------------------------|---------------------|-------------|
| fono (front, foremost), | <i>i finenana,</i> | the first. |
| dos, | <i>i mina dos,</i> | the second. |
| tres, | <i>i mina tres,</i> | the third. |

¹ The use of *k* instead of hard *c* is explained in vol. v, p. 295 (p. 7 of reprint).

From the above examples it will be seen that, with the exception of *finenana*, first, the ordinals are formed by adding the cardinals to the word *mina*. Thus, in giving the ten commandments, we have, *I mina sinko : muñga mamuno*, 'Fifth : thou shalt not kill' ; *I mina siete : muñga mañake*, 'Seventh : thou shalt not steal.'

Instead of these the Spanish ordinals are also used, *primero*, *segundo*, *tetsero*, etc., modified to accord with Chamorro pronunciation.

Distributives

These are now expressed by the particles *fan-a-* prefixed to the cardinal numbers ; as, *fan-askino nu i ägâ*, distribute the bananas five-by-five. In the indicative, past and present this becomes *man-a-* ; as *man-acuâcuatro hulo*, they were coming up four-by-four ; *ufan-adiedies magi*, they will come hither ten-by-ten. Thus the numerals become verbs and are conjugated accordingly.

The Ligature na. — The ligature *na*, derived from the ancient *nga*, is used with the cardinal numbers when they are used adjectively ; as *bente na guihan*, twenty fishes ; *dies na uhañg*, ten shrimp. This may be omitted. If it is omitted with the numeral *uno* the ending *o* is omitted also ; as *uno na guihan*, but *un guihan*, one fish. As has been shown in discussing the article, the numeral *uno* never has the ending *a*, as in the case of the article before feminine nouns in Spanish. In the same way the ligature is used with the ordinals when used as adjectives ; as *mina sais na tinago*, sixth commandment. It may, however, be omitted. With Spanish ordinals it is used if they are not abbreviated, but if they omit the final vowel no ligation is used : *tetse ro natinago* (tercero mandamiento), but *tetset tinago* (tercer mandamiento).

VIII. — THE VERB

I. TRUE VERBS. — Almost any word in the Chamorro language may be used as a verb, but there are certain words expressing motion, condition, or action, which are essentially verbs in their primitive form. Examples :

| | | |
|----------------------------|---------------------------|--------------------------------|
| <i>hanao</i> , go ; walk ; | <i>agañg</i> , call out ; | <i>hagô</i> , reach ; |
| <i>maila</i> , come ; | <i>fapos</i> , pass ; | <i>taga</i> , cut ; |
| <i>saga</i> , stay ; | <i>tunog</i> , descend ; | <i>tuge</i> , write ; |
| <i>falago</i> , run ; | <i>basnag</i> , fall ; | <i>taitai</i> , recite, read ; |

| | | |
|--------------------------|------------------------|----------------------------|
| <i>ason</i> , lie down ; | <i>fato</i> , arrive ; | <i>lii</i> , see ; |
| <i>omag</i> , bathe ; | <i>kano</i> , eat ; | <i>huñgog</i> , hear ; |
| <i>nañgo</i> , swim ; | <i>ginem</i> , drink ; | <i>pacha</i> , touch ; |
| <i>atog</i> , hide ; | <i>chogue</i> , work ; | <i>ñgiñge</i> , smell ; |
| <i>fato</i> , arrive ; | <i>fahan</i> , buy ; | <i>tamtam</i> , taste ; |
| <i>tañgis</i> , weep ; | <i>na'e</i> , give ; | <i>yute</i> , throw away ; |
| <i>chaleg</i> , laugh ; | <i>chule</i> , carry ; | <i>gote</i> , seize. |
| <i>ugong</i> , lament ; | | |

2. ABSENCE OF A COPULATIVE. — There is no copulative verb *to be*, the Chamorro language in this respect resembling the Hebrew. On this account there arises the necessity of denominative verbs, which are formed from names either substantive or adjective. Thus, when used predicatively, *tata*, 'father,' may be considered as a verb 'to be a father'; *mauleg*, 'good,' as a verb 'to be good'; *malango*, 'ill,' as a verb 'to be ill,' or 'to become ill.'

When the verb *to be* implies position, corresponding to the Italian *stare* and the Spanish *estar*, it is translated into the Chamorro by *gaige*; as, *gaige gi lancho*, 'he is at the ranch.' In this case the verb cannot be regarded as copulative.

The impersonal phrase 'there is' (French *il y a*, Spanish *hay*) is translated by *guaha*, as *guaha hānom*, 'there is water.'

3. DENOMINATIVE VERBS. — These verbs, which in their primitive sense are nouns or adjectives, are conjugated by particles and undergo reduplication, as in the case of intransitive or neuter verbs. They are used to express the identity, state, dignity, or office of an individual, or the substance, condition, attribute, or nature of a thing.

| ROOT | USE AS DENOMINATIVE VERB |
|------------------------------|--|
| <i>tata</i> , father ; | <i>Tata yô</i> , I am a father. |
| <i>tata</i> , father ; | <i>Tumata yô</i> , I was a father. |
| <i>gaga</i> , animal ; | <i>Gaga i hilitai</i> , The iguana is an animal. |
| <i>magalahe</i> , governor ; | <i>Mumagalahe si Don Antonio</i> , Don Antonio was governor. |
| <i>malaño</i> , sick ; | <i>Malaño gui</i> , He is sick; <i>Manmalaño siha</i> , They are sick. |
| <i>malaño</i> , sick ; | <i>Umalango agupa</i> , He will be sick tomorrow. |
| <i>tata</i> , father ; | <i>Utata tiammam si Pedro</i> , Peter will soon be a father. |

4. TRANSITIVE VERBS FORMED FROM NOUNS. — Just as in Eng-

lish we form a verb from the noun "box" or "bag," saying "Box the books," "The game is bagged," so in Chamorro transitive verbs are formed from nouns by adding to the primitive word *e* or *ye* :

| ROOT | USED AS TRANSITIVE VERB |
|--------------------------------|---|
| <i>kostat</i> , bag ; | <i>kostate i maeis</i> , bag the corn. |
| <i>kamuti</i> , sweet-potato ; | <i>kamutiye i guetta</i> , potato the garden. |
| <i>kottina</i> , curtain ; | <i>kottinaye i ältat</i> , curtain the altar. |
| <i>guma</i> , house ; | <i>magumae</i> , housed, to be built in houses. |
| <i>fäi</i> , rice ; | <i>mafaiye</i> , riced, to be planted in rice. |
| <i>tupu</i> , sugar-cane ; | <i>matupuye</i> , sugar-caned, to be planted in sugar-cane. |
| <i>hanom</i> , water ; | <i>mahanme</i> , watered, to be irrigated. |
| <i>chupa</i> , tobacco ; | <i>machupaye</i> , tobaccoed, to be planted in tobacco. |
| <i>maeis</i> , maize ; | <i>mamaeise</i> , corned, to be planted in corn. |

These verbs follow the same rules as primitive verbs in forming the plural. Examples :

Matupuye i sesonyan. The swamp is planted in sugar-cane.

Manmatupuye i sesonyan siha. The swamps are planted in sugar-cane.

5. INTRANSITIVE VERBS FORMED FROM ADVERBS. — Examples :

| | | |
|-----------------------------|---|-------------------------------------|
| <i>huyoñg</i> , outside ; | <i>Huyoñg !</i> Go out ! | <i>Tafanhuyoñg</i> , Let us go out. |
| <i>halom</i> , in, inside ; | <i>Halom !</i> Come in ! | <i>Tafanhalom</i> , Let us enter. |
| <i>hulo</i> , up, upward ; | <i>Kahulo !</i> Get up ! | <i>Tafankahulo</i> , Let us rise. |
| <i>tate</i> , behind ; | <i>Tate !</i> Go behind ! | <i>Tafanate</i> , Let us go behind. |
| <i>fona</i> , in front ; | <i>Fona !</i> Go ahead ! | <i>Tafanmona</i> , Let us go ahead. |
| <i>halom</i> , within ; | <i>Humahalom hao ?</i> Do you believe ? | |
| <i>guse</i> , quickly ; | <i>Guse magi !</i> Hurry hither ! | |

6. PRONOUNS USED AS VERBS. — Certain pronouns may be used as intransitive or neuter verbs :

| PRONOUN | VERB |
|----------------------------|--|
| <i>guaho</i> , I ; | <i>Guaguahohä</i> , I am quite alone. |
| <i>hita</i> , we (incl.) ; | <i>Humihita guine</i> , We are here (together). |
| <i>hita</i> , we (incl.) ; | <i>Utahita guato</i> , We shall go there (together). |

7. VERBAL PREFIXES. — Various meanings are conveyed by prefixing to the primitive verb certain particles. These prefixes are not confined to verbs but are applied to other parts of speech as well. They are quite distinct from verbal particles used to mark tense, mood, and person, and from the plural prefix applied to intransitive and passive verbs, adjectives, and certain nouns. Examples :

nâ-maañao, to cause fear, to make afraid, to terrify ; from *maañao*, fear.
ma-poka, broken ; from *poka*, break.
fan-lîi, see (intransitive) ; from the transitive verb *lîi*, see.

8. THE CAUSATIVE PREFIX *nâ*. — This particle when prefixed to a verb has the significance of 'to make to do' or 'cause to be.' As has already been shown it is also used as an adjectival prefix ; *nâgasgas*, to make clean, or to cleanse, may be used as an attributive adjective signifying 'cleansing' ; *nâmahô*, to cause thirst, may also be the adjective 'thirst-causing.' *Hanâbaba si Luis*, He made Louis crazy.

It may be prefixed to either an active or a passive verb ; as —
hanâpunô, he caused to kill, he made some one kill something ;
hanâmapunô, he caused to be killed, he had something or some one killed.

It has the effect of making certain intransitive verbs transitive :

| INTRANSITIVE | TRANSITIVE |
|-------------------------------|---|
| <i>Ason</i> , Lie down ! | <i>nâason</i> , lay down, make lie down. |
| <i>Fatachoñg</i> , Sit down ! | <i>nâfatachoñg</i> , set down, make sit down. |
| <i>Tunog</i> , Descend ! | <i>nâtunog</i> , lower, cause to descend. |
| <i>Hanao</i> , Go ! | <i>nâhanao</i> , cause to go, eliminate. |

In the same way it converts adjectives into transitive verbs :

| ADJECTIVE | TRANSITIVE VERB |
|--------------------------|---|
| <i>bula</i> , full ; | <i>nâbula</i> , to fill. |
| <i>fotgon</i> , wet ; | <i>nâfotgon</i> , to wet or moisten. |
| <i>añglo</i> , dry ; | <i>nâañglo</i> , to dry. |
| <i>homlo</i> , well ; | <i>nâhomlo</i> , to cure, to make well. |
| <i>masa</i> , cooked ; | <i>nâmasa</i> , to cook. |
| <i>maipe</i> , hot ; | <i>nâmaipe</i> , to heat. |
| <i>oda</i> , dirty ; | <i>nâoda</i> , to soil. |
| <i>kâfache</i> , muddy ; | <i>nâkâfache</i> , to muddy. |

Combined with the particle *lá* it expresses a more modified effect :

| | |
|-------------------------------------|--|
| <i>guse</i> , quick ; | <i>nâlâguse</i> , to shorten (in time). |
| <i>dikiki</i> , small ; | <i>nâlâdikiki</i> , to lessen. |
| <i>guaguan</i> , dear (not cheap) ; | <i>nâlâguaguan</i> , to make dearer. |
| <i>tailaye</i> , bad ; | <i>nâlâtailaye</i> , to make worse. |
| <i>mauleg</i> , good ; | <i>nâlâmauleg</i> , to better. |
| <i>dididi</i> , little, few ; | <i>nâlâdididi</i> , to diminish in quantity. |

In the above examples the meaning is not necessarily to make a thing short or small or dear, but shorter, smaller, or dearer than before.

9. THE PREFIX OF CONDITION **ma**. — This prefix is also found in many adjectives expressing the nature or condition of a person or thing ; as, *mañaña*, soft ; *maneñgheñg*, cold ; *malañgo*, sick.

Prefixed to verbs it forms a word corresponding to the participle, but which should really be considered as an adjective. This adjective, like all others, can be used as a denominative, or attributive, verb, but such a verb is not really in the passive voice. For example, from *poka*, break, is formed *mapoka*, broken, an adjective used when the agent of the act is not designated. To express the passive voice the infix *in* must be used (*pineka*) if the agent is singular or dual ; the prefix *ma* is used only to express the passive voice if the agent is plural, as, *magote hao nu i mañelumo*, you were seized by your brothers ; but *ginete hao as Huan*, you were seized by John.

TRANSITIVE VERB

poka, break ;

titeg, tear ;

tuno, burn ;

gote, seize ;

ADJECTIVE OF CONDITION

mapoka, broken ;

matiteg, torn ;

matuno, burnt ;

magote, caught.

This prefix should not be confounded with the indicative prefix of certain intransitive verbs beginning with the syllable *fa*. These are probably derivatives and change the initial letter *f* to *m*, just as the imperative prefix *fan* of derived intransitives is changed to *man* in the indicative :

IMPERATIVE

Fatachong, Sit down !

Falag, Run !

Faliño, Lose !

INDICATIVE

Matachong yô, I sat down.

Malag yô, I ran.

Maliño hao, You lost.¹

10. *The Intransitive Prefix fan*. — This prefix, which in the indicative past and present tenses becomes **man**, must be added to a verb which is transitive in its primitive form if the verb has no object or if its object is not definitely indicated. It indicates spontaneity, or that the action is complete in itself, or that the verb has become intransitive. In the Chamorro language a verb with a vague or

¹ Similar modifications of the initial letter occur in all dialects of the Philippines and of Madagascar.

indefinite object is regarded as an intransitive verb. In the sentence *lii yuhe na modong*, Behold yonder ship! the transitive form is used, because the particular ship is indicated. In the expression *manlilii*, I see, the intransitive form is used because there is no object. In the sentence *manlilii pution*, I see a star, or I was seeing a star, the intransitive form is used, because the particular star is not indicated. The verb in the last case might be taken together with its object as an intransitive verb; 'I was star-seeing.'¹

II. ADVERBIAL PREFIXES. — Certain prefixes are used with verbs where in English an adverb or adverbial phrase would be used instead.

achá or **chá** signifies 'simultaneously,' 'equally,' or together with'; as, *hu-chágoté i tástafan yan i saligao*, I seized the rice-husks together with the centipede; *achábasnak si Adan yan Eva*, at the same time fell Adam with Eve; *chámalaño hao yan i chelumo*, you are sick equally with your brother; *chágilago gui yan tataña*, equally a Northman (Spaniard) is he with his father. In the latter cases *malaño* and *gilago* are denominative verbs.

katna signifies 'nearly' or 'almost': *katnahamatmos si Huan*, John nearly drowned, or John came near drowning; *katnamatai si Tata gi painge*, Father nearly died last night.

ké signifies 'to be about to,' 'to be on the point of': *k(um)ékahulo*, he was about to get up; *k(um)ékefalago*, he is about to run away; *k(um)ékemaego*, he is on the point of falling asleep.

chat signifies 'badly' (Malayan *jahat*), 'not well, imperfectly, insufficiently, poorly, a little': *ha-chatgoté*, he seized badly, he took poor hold; *chatmalate gui*, he is badly brought up; *chatmasaolag i patgon*, the child has been insufficiently whipped; *chatápaka i atgodon*, the cotton is not quite white; *chatmalago*, he ran little, he ran but poorly; *chatsulon*, he slipped a little, he slipped somewhat.

góf, géf, gés have the opposite significance of **chat**. They have the force of adverbs signifying 'well, thoroughly, properly, sufficiently'; as *gófmasaolag i patgon*, the boy was soundly

¹ In Fiji the same distinction is made between verbs having a definite and those having an indefinite object, as in the expressions 'to work *the* garden' and 'to work garden.' See Codrington, op. cit., p. 178.

whipped; *géfmälägo*, he ran well; *gésyayas yô*, I am completely tired out.

lá signifies 'further,' 'a little more'; as, *lábäbä i petta*, open the door wider; *lätunog*, descend lower.

sen signifies 'entirely' or 'quite'; It is also used with adjectives and adverbs to express the superlative degree: *senyutê i hagas bidamo*, leave entirely your former life; *senápaka i mänog*, the chicken is pure white.

12. OTHER PREFIXES. — Certain other prefixes can be rendered in English only by phrases.

é or *ô*. — These prefixes form an intransitive verb signifying 'to go in quest of something', as *éguihan*, to go fishing; *ékuto*, to go nutting (*huto* is the name of the nuts of the dugdug — *Artocarpus*); (*um*)*égagao*, he goes about begging (*gagao*, to beg); (*um*)*ôfaesen*, he goes about inquiring.

én. — When prefixed to the name of an object of personal use, *en* forms an intransitive verb signifying to use conjointly or by turns: *uménnguma si Luis yan Tomas*, Louis lived in the same house with Thomas; *uménlupes si Rosa yan Rita*, Rosa wears Rita's skirt by turns with her.

fâ. — This has two distinct significations. When prefixed to the name of something to eat it signifies 'to make into' or 'confection':

fâbuñuelos i dāgo, make into dumplings the yam;

ha-fâkarbon i abas, he made into charcoal the guava-wood.

Prefixed to the name of an office, occupation, a verb, or an adjective, it signifies 'to pretend to be,' 'to feign,' 'to play the part of,' or 'pass one's self off for':

ha-fâhatuñgo, he pretended to know.

ha-fâdokto gui, he pretended to be a doctor.

ha-fâtānga i guelôña, he passed his grandfather off as deaf.

ha-fâlahen Huan si Dolores i lahiña as Hosé, Dolores passed off as John's son the son of Joseph.

Exceptions. — To this rule the following exceptions may be noted: *fâbäbä*, signifies 'to make a fool of,' or 'to swindle.' *fâmauleg*, signifies 'to make good,' 'to repair,' 'to benefit.' In order that they should signify 'to feign to be a fool,' 'to feign

to be good,' the *a*'s of *baba* should be pronounced like that in 'father,' and the *a* of *mauleg* should be modified to *ã*, writing the words *fâbaba*, *fâmãuleg*.

fâmä. — This particle is used very much like the preceding. In connection with food it signifies to make or to prepare something. Before the name of an office or dignity, or before an adjective, it signifies 'to feign' or 'to pretend.' In the indicative it becomes **mâmä**.

fâmäamotsa, get breakfast, prepare breakfast.

fâmäatmondigas ni i bâbue, make sausage out of the pig.

fâmäsindalo, play soldier, pretend to be a soldier.

fâmämaañao, pretend to be afraid.

fâmämalango, pretend to be sick.

Before other nouns it signifies to turn into, to be converted into ; as **mâmääfог i ächo ñañae**, the coral stone turns into lime.

gê. — Prefixed to an adverb of place *gê* forms a verb signifying to put one's self into a certain position :

| ADVERB | VERB |
|--------------------------|--|
| <i>fonä</i> , in front ; | gêfena , put yourself forward ; |
| <i>hulô</i> , above ; | gêhilô , put yourself on top. |

13. VERBAL SUFFIXES. — Another way of expressing various shades of meaning is by means of suffixes. Some of these take the place of prepositions, others have the effect of modifying adverbs.

-e, -ye, and -ge. — These, when suffixed to certain intransitive verbs, have the effect of directing the action toward some object. If the word ends in a consonant, or in a guttural vowel, the suffix is *e* ; if it ends in a simple vowel the suffix is *ye*, final *e* of the root being changed to *i* and final *o* to *u* ; and if the root ends in *ae*, the final *e* is suppressed.

If it ends in *ao* the final *o* is suppressed and suffix **ge** is added.

| | |
|--------------------------|--|
| <i>adiñgan</i> , speak ; | adiñgane , speak to some one ; |
| <i>sañgan</i> , say ; | sañgane , say to some one ; |
| <i>chule</i> , carry ; | chulie , carry to or for some one ; |
| <i>lôlô</i> , caught ; | lôlue , cough at some one ; |
| <i>tola</i> , spit ; | tolae , spit at some one ; |
| <i>basnak</i> , fall ; | basnakge , fall upon some one. |

Nafunhayane si tata nu i sapatos, Finish for father the shoes.

Tayuyute yô as Yuus, Pray for me to God.

Taitaye si guelamo un lebblo, Read to your grandmother a book.

| | |
|-------------------------------------|--------------------------------|
| <i>Sausage si nana nu i lamasa,</i> | Wipe off for mother the table. |
| <i>Tunog si Luis,</i> | Lower for Louis. |
| <i>Chatage si Mariano,</i> | Be mean to Mariano. |

When the same endings are suffixed to parts of the body, they form verbs signifying to turn toward or present the part of the body indicated; as *mataye*, to turn the eyes toward; *kalaguage*, to turn the side toward; *tatiye*, to turn the back.

Exceptions. — The last word signifies also ‘to follow behind’ a person. ‘To turn the face’ is *fana*.

The Suffix -hâ. — This indicates that an action is continued or habitual, as *machochôchôhâ*, he is working continually; *umôô-maghâ*, he is always bathing, he bathes all the time. With a pronoun it signifies ‘to be alone,’ as *guiyâhâ*, he was alone; *guaguahohâ*, I am alone.

The Suffix -ñaehon — This suffix, appended to a verb or to the name of some article of apparel, signifies “to make use of,” “to use for a moment” :

| | |
|------------------------------------|--------------------------------------|
| <i>Huchachañaehon i tiherasmo,</i> | I used your scissors. |
| <i>Husapatosñaehon i iyomo,</i> | I used for a bit the shoes of yours. |

Appended to a verb expressing momentaneous action it has the significance of depreciation :

| | |
|-------------------------------------|------------------------------------|
| <i>Huyetañaehon i pakiña,</i> | I threw away (in disgust) his gun. |
| <i>Hafakaañaehon gi manmalañgo,</i> | He divided away among the sick |
| <i>i salapiña</i> | his money. |
| <i>Mutañaehon,</i> | To vomit forth. |

It sometimes is used to convey the meaning of “only a little,” or “a bit” :

| | |
|--------------------------------|--------------------------------------|
| <i>Panakñaehon,</i> | To whip but slightly. |
| <i>Balenñaehon i aposento,</i> | Brush up a little the alcove. |
| <i>Mafogñaehon,</i> | It was overturned by a slight touch. |

With a reciprocal verb it signifies “by chance” :

| | |
|--------------------------------|--|
| <i>Huasodañaehon si Pedro,</i> | I happened to meet with Peter by chance. |
|--------------------------------|--|

14. REDUPLICATION. — Reduplication of the accented syllable of a verb in Chamorro has the effect of expressing sustained, continued, or suspended action. It makes indefinite the time of the completion of a verb's action. Thus there are two imperatives.

The first, in which the verb has its simple form, is called the URGENT IMPERATIVE OR DEFINITE IMPERATIVE. It expresses a command which is supposed to be executed forthwith. By reduplicating the accented syllable of the primitive verb the SUSPENDED IMPERATIVE OR INDEFINITE IMPERATIVE is formed. It expresses a request or counsel which may be complied with at any time. In the same way the preterite, or past definite, is formed from the simple root, while the present imperfect, or copresent, which represents a progressive or continuous action, is formed from the reduplicated root. There are in the same way two futures, one definite and the other indefinite or lax, differing from each other only in the reduplication of the accented syllable.

Exception. — In verbs expressing mental acts reduplication has the effect of weakening the force of the verb ; as *hutungo*, I know ; *hutútungo*, I have an impression, I think I know.

In reduplicating the primitive word the tonic, or accented syllable, is usually doubled :

| PRIMITIVE FORM | REDUPPLICATED FORM | |
|------------------|--------------------|---------------------|
| <i>ginem</i> , | <i>giginem</i> , | drink. |
| <i>kano</i> , | <i>kákano</i> , | eat (transitive). |
| <i>chocho</i> , | <i>chóchocho</i> , | eat (intransitive). |
| <i>agang</i> , | <i>áagang</i> , | call, cry out. |
| <i>omag</i> , | <i>óomag</i> , | bathe, take a bath. |
| <i>lii</i> , | <i>lílíi</i> , | see. |
| <i>taga</i> | <i>tátaga</i> , | cut. |
| <i>talo</i> , | <i>tátalo</i> , | return. |
| <i>chule</i> , | <i>chúchule</i> , | carry. |
| <i>nâe</i> , | <i>nânae</i> , | give. |
| <i>lalatde</i> , | <i>lálalatde</i> , | blame. |
| <i>fato</i> , | <i>fáfato</i> , | arrive. |

If in the tonic syllable of the root another letter follows the accented vowel, the last letter is omitted in reduplication. If the tonic syllable begins with two consonants, the first consonant is omitted in reduplication :

| PRIMITIVE FORM | REDUPPLICATED FORM | |
|-----------------|------------------------------|---------------|
| <i>tasme</i> , | <i>tátasme</i> , | sharpen. |
| <i>saolag</i> , | <i>sasao^lag</i> , | whip. |
| <i>planta</i> , | <i>plalan^ta</i> , | place, plant. |

If the primitive form be an intransitive verb derived from a transitive verb by prefixing the particle *fan*, the tonic syllable of the verb is reduplicated in its new form, as modified by the prefix. Thus, from *chule* (carry), is derived the intransitive verb *fañule*; from *taitai* (read, recite, or pray) is derived the intransitive verb *fanaitai*. In their reduplicated forms these verbs become *faññule*, *fanánaitai*:

| ROOT TRANSITIVE | PRIMITIVE FORM INTRANSITIVE | REDUPPLICATED FORM INTRANSITIVE | |
|--------------------|--------------------------------|------------------------------------|--------|
| <i>chule</i> , | <i>fañule</i> , | <i>faññule</i> , | carry. |
| <i>taitai</i> , | <i>fanaitai</i> , | <i>fanánaitai</i> , | read. |
| <i>taga</i> , | <i>fanaga</i> , | <i>fanánaga</i> , | cut. |
| <i>lii</i> , | <i>fanlii</i> , | <i>fanlilii</i> , | see. |
| <i>fáhan</i> , | <i>famahan</i> , | <i>famámahan</i> , | buy. |
| <i>tuge</i> , | <i>fanuge</i> , | <i>fanúnuge</i> , | write. |
| <i>tuge</i> , | <i>fañge</i> , | <i>fafañge</i> , | write. |

If the verb is a passive derivative form by the infix *in*, the tonic syllable of the root is added without considering the particle, as *pinápak* (primitive form); *pinápanak* (reduplicated form): from the root *pának*, whip.

Certain verbs which have the form of derived transitive verbs reduplicate the tonic syllable like them. If the verb is composed of several words it is always the accented syllable which is reduplicated:

| PRIMITIVE FORM | REDUPPLICATED FORM | |
|--------------------------|----------------------------|------------------|
| <i>fatáchong</i> , | <i>fatátachong</i> , | sit. |
| <i>famókat</i> , | <i>famómokat</i> , | go-on-foot. |
| <i>kahulo</i> , | <i>kahúhulo</i> , | rise, get up. |
| <i>falago</i> , | <i>falalago</i> , | go, run. |
| <i>falagisádog</i> , | <i>falagisásadog</i> , | go-to-the-river. |
| <i>falagihalomtáno</i> , | <i>falagihalomtátano</i> , | go-to-the-woods. |

There are a few verbs which already have a reduplicated form. These do not further reduplicate their tonic syllable:

| | |
|------------------|----------|
| <i>kokolo</i> , | go up. |
| <i>totonog</i> , | go down. |

principal classes of verbs, between which a sharp distinction is made. To the first class belong TRANSITIVE VERBS HAVING A DEFINITE OBJECT ; as, *Taitai enao na lebblo !* Read that book ! *Kano i äga,* Eat the banana.

In the second class are included INTRANSITIVE VERBS and TRANSITIVE VERBS WITH AN INDEFINITE OBJECT ; as, *Fanaitai !* Read ! *Fanaitai lebblo siha,* Read books (the books not specified). *Chcho !* Eat ! *Chcho äga,* Eat a banana.

Such verbs as express motion or condition or simple action are naturally intransitive and have primitive roots ; as, *hanao,* go ; *maila,* come ; *saga,* stay ; *tangis,* weep ; *nañgo,* swim ; *chaleg,* laugh.

Other verbs may have a transitive meaning or an intransitive meaning, and as transitive verbs they may have either a definitely indicated object or an indefinite object. In the latter class the intransitive forms are for the greater part derived from the definite transitive form, or root, by prefixing the particle **fan** to form the imperative. In the indicative mode this particle becomes **man**. It should not be confused with the plural prefix *man*. Like that particle it influences the initial consonants of the primitive root according to the same rule.¹

The relationship between the transitive verbs and their corresponding derived intransitives may be compared with that of the English transitives 'set' and 'lay' and their corresponding intransitives 'sit' and 'lie.' Sometimes the intransitive verb differs radically from its corresponding transitive, as in the above case of *chcho* and *kano* (to eat). These verbs may be likened to the English intransitive 'to talk' and the transitive 'to tell.' In the English expressions 'to talk sense,' 'to talk politics,' the verbs may be compared to the Chamorro transitives with an indefinite object, which resemble the intransitives. In such cases the phrases may be considered as a compound intransitive verb ; as, 'I read-books,' 'you eat-a-banana,' or 'I am book-reading,' 'he is corn-planting,' 'you are banana-eating,' which have a different sense from the verbs in which some particular book, corn, or banana is specified.

¹ See *American Anthropologist*, 1903, v, p. 303 (p. 15 of reprint).

| DEFINITIVE TRANSITIVE | INDEFINITE TRANSITIVES OR INTRANSITIVES | |
|--------------------------|--|--------|
| <i>kano,</i> | <i>chocho ;</i> | eat. |
| <i>lii,</i> | <i>fanlii ;</i> | see. |
| <i>fahan,</i> | <i>famahan ;</i> | buy. |
| <i>chule,</i> | <i>fañule ;</i> | carry. |
| <i>taga,</i> | <i>fanaga ;</i> | cut. |
| <i>tuge,</i> | <i>fanuge ;</i> | write. |
| <i>tuge,</i> | <i>fañgge ;</i> ¹ | write. |

¹ Irregular by contraction. In the same way we have *Mañgge*, Where is it ? or, Where is he ? contracted from *Mano nai gaige*.

[*To be continued*]